# HUMAN EVENTS

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## News Section

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**Missile Czar:** In the aftermath of President Eisenhower's television address Thursday night, Capital observers are dissecting the much-publicized appointment of James T. Killian, President of MIT, as "Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology." Ike described Killian's duties as to assure "that the entire program is carried forward in closely integrated fashion, and that such things as alleged interservice competition or insufficient use of overtime shall not be allowed to create even the suspicion of harm to our scientific and development program."

While most of the press seized on this announcement to proclaim Killian the new "czar" of the missile program, some skeptical observers focus their attention on a second, and less publicized, revelation contained in Ike's address.

This was the announcement that W. M. Holaday, who has been "Special Assistant for Guided Missiles" in the Department of Defense, will serve in what is apparently the capacity of a "right-hand man" to Killian. Holaday, who has been the boss of the missile program all along, will now simply receive additional authority under his new title: "Guided Missile Director."

Killian, the skeptics note, is not the kind of "take-charge" administrator who will rule with the necessary iron hand. His new post, in fact, resembles that of an over-all coordinator and adviser to the President on general scientific matters (including missiles) more than it does the Manhattan-Project type of "czar" demanded by Senator Styles Bridges and others. This means that the apparent second man, Holaday (as often happens in Washington) will be the real, "operational" czar of the missile program — and that Killian will serve as a sort of liaison man between Holaday and the President. Such, at least, is the early reading of signs by informed sources in the Capital.

This analysis causes consternation among proponents of a tough-minded crash program for missiles. For it was Holaday who, in his position as "Special Assistant," displayed what is described as "unspeakable stupidity" in assessing the significance of our race for outer space. On September 13, two weeks before the appearance of "Sputnik I," Holaday wrote a letter (of which HUMAN EVENTS has a photostatic copy) to Senator Russell of Georgia. The key paragraph reads as follows:

*"Political implications of Soviet announcement of the successful launching of a satellite prior to our first VANGUARD are debatable. The question of sovereignty of space outside the atmosphere but over a country's territory has yet to be determined. It is felt in some circles that a Soviet 'first' in this matter would establish the precedent of freedom of space. This could serve to our advantage at a later date if we had plans for reconnaissance satellites."*

**Political Sputnik:** The grass-roots propulsive power of American conservatism has demonstrated astonishing strength in political developments in the past week, and has raised the hopes of right-wingers to virtually interstellar heights:

(1) The sensational abdication of Governor Knight from the California gubernatorial race resulted — not from alleged deals between leaders hatched in Vice President Nixon's office — but from a mass uprising in that vast, politically crucial state by businessmen and workers against the entrenched interests of big labor and political "me-tooism." Knowland, who had sagely perceived the rising ferment, has now profited from it, and is on his way to Sacramento, if not the White House itself.

(2) In New Jersey, a clever Democratic politician rode in to re-election partly as a result of courtship of conservatives, many of them businessmen. The record of his opponent, a "modern Republican" and recipient of Mr. Eisenhower's infallible kiss of death, has become an object lesson in how not to win elections.

The big fallout of the New Jersey election is not the Democratic victory but the final, undeniable proof of the political descent of Eisenhower and his "modern Republicanism." (For details see "California" and "New Jersey" stories, below.)

**Muttnik — Triumph of Secrecy:** The second Soviet earth satellite has raised an awesome threat to American security, even more pronounced than the successful launching of the first one. The unexpectedly powerful thrust necessary to put up Sputnik II has caused forebodings — the gravity of which (as inside scientists express themselves to HUMAN EVENTS) finds only inadequate reflection in press accounts. Fear is entertained that this means Soviet possession not only of an intermediate range (1500 mile) ballistic missile, but also

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of the intercontinental (5000 mile) ballistic missile, capable of hitting the United States itself.

The plain fact, staring even the most incorrigible "liberals" (who want to "pool" U.S. secrets) in the face, is that the Soviet scientific and technological feat was accomplished under iron-bound secrecy, the most grim and ruthless police security in history. The compelling corollary for Americans is that the Soviets stole and picked up from the open terrain of American science and technology (that is, from our scientific and trade journals) inestimable help for their achievement. This was the inevitable result of our appalling "international pooling" of information and of our internal security system, mortally wounded by repeated drives against so-called "McCarthyism."

The conclusion is that the obviously crack-brained "pooling" of secrets proposed by Eisenhower and Macmillan must be buried immediately. The immediate task, however — as Senate leaders see it — must be a cleaning out of shocking negligence, ignorance and muddle-headedness in our high command on missiles.

**Business Recession:** The business recession — foreshadowed in the HUMAN EVENTS item, "Hair Curling in the Capital" (August 17, 1957) — is now under way. Drop in freight-car loadings, slide in machine tool orders, cancellations in industrial expansion plans throughout the country, decline in steel ingot production and significant reduction in department store sales (with possible price cuts in December predicted) — all pin-point the reality of a recession.

This development has been discounted by the "bear market" on the New York Stock Exchange for the past three months. Economists in Washington take a very negative view of the course of the market in the next six.

**Virtually all financial experts here dismiss hopes that new defense plans (as a result of the "Sputnik") can at any early date bolster the sagging business picture; "it takes too long to spend sufficient money to do so," is their verdict. Even an early rise in military spending, they say, might not make itself felt throughout the national economy for a year or a year-and-a-half.**

No further rise in the Federal rediscount rate is anticipated. As for a cut in the prevailing 3½ per cent Fed rate — that may not come until spring. When and if it comes, its economic repercussions may take quite some time, six months or so, before they significantly affect the national business picture.

**Inside the White House:** The day after the stunning New Jersey election, Bernard Shanley, important White House Secretary, resigned, announcing his candidacy for the Senate. Shanley, who comes from New Jersey, was the President's adviser on politics in that state.

Whether or not this significant resignation resulted from a stormy White House conference which took place late on election night remains a controversial topic among well-informed observers. A partial report (as relayed by HUMAN EVENTS sources close to the White House) of what took place on that "evening of defeat":

The President, working late, had a conference with his aides, including Sherman Adams. Two developments aroused his ire: (1) The announcement by Senator Lyndon Johnson, Democratic Leader of the Senate, that the Armed Services Committee would investigate the missile development "mess." (2) Early advices from New Jersey of the rout of Ike's publicly endorsed candidate for Governor, Senator Forbes.

The President lost his temper and gave his staff a tongue lashing. He angrily said he would himself write his TV speech. Adams sat in virtual silence.

**Summit:** There is much talk among Eisenhower aides about holding a Summit conference with Khrushchev, according to State Department sources. This may be the inspiration of similar ideas expressed editorially in the "liberal" press.

Both Republican and Democratic congressional leaders strongly reject such a course. Among prominent Democratic members, it is believed that Secretary Dulles — who opposes such a "Munich" meeting — will resign if Eisenhower insists on it.

**Special Session of Congress:** From the few legislators happening to be in Washington today come suggestions that the President recall the Senate and House in a special session to deal with the manifold questions that have arisen in the wake of the "Sputnik." Some who urge this are Democrats, who may or may not be inspired by partisan reasons. But one veteran GOP Representative who returned to the Capital this week, Lawrence Smith of Wisconsin, tells HUMAN EVENTS that the idea has merit.

"The President should immediately call Congress back in session," Smith says, "to deal with the serious crisis. As a Republican, I offer this suggestion with the feeling that the gravity of the situation transcends all partisan political considerations. Such a special session now would enable Members of Congress to discuss matters and formulate policies necessary to meet the developing military and economic problems.

"At present, almost all the Senators and Representatives are scattered throughout the country and are unable to communicate effectively, as they could if gathered on Capitol Hill. Meanwhile, the people — of whom we are the elected representatives — have become increasingly disturbed and confused. If Members of Congress returned for a special session, in my opinion, they would serve to clarify the situation and to assist the Executive branch to go forward with a sense of popular support. The Federal legislature, too, should be on the job."

**California:** *A* HUMAN EVENTS *correspondent in Sacramento wires as follows:*

Those of us who have been watching the unfolding campaign for the past two months cannot take seriously

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Eastern interpretations of the retirement of Governor Knight from the gubernatorial race and his resolve to run for the Senatorial seat. These interpretations suggest that it came about because of a deal between Knowland and Nixon, or because Nixon prevailed on an obdurate Knight not to wage a fight with Knowland that might split the party.

*The view here in the state capital is that many weeks ago the Governor realized that a popular tide had risen against him and that he stood no chance whatsoever of renomination. Desertion of him by former stalwart friends, and particularly word from "the money boys" that they would not contribute, made it clear to him that he was finished. The tide for Knowland has rolled up so strongly that Knight feared his defeat would be overwhelming. That being so, it seems unlikely that any real split in the party would have resulted. The only "out" for Knight — in his extremity — appeared to be a race for the Senatorial seat.*

However, success for Knight in the race for Senatorial nomination appears very doubtful at this date, for various reasons: (1) Resentment against him in the party rank and file is widespread and deep. (2) Four other GOP candidates already filed have followings not to be despised. These candidates include the popular Mayor Christopher of San Francisco. Knight could lose to any one of them. (3) It is noted that Knowland prudently stays aloof from the Senatorial primary battle. He has made it clear that he will not endorse Knight. (4) Nixon's endorsement of Knight for the Senatorial nomination is not expected to swing much support to the Governor. Indeed, it may boomerang against Nixon. Knight is the victim of a conservative tide.

**New Jersey:** The name of Malcolm Forbes has been entered at the bottom of a long list that includes such "modern Republicans" as Kohler, Duff, Thornton, McKay, Bender and Langlie. The defeated New Jersey candidate joins these beaten politicians in finding, when it is too late, that "coattail" riding cannot win elections. Forbes' defeat at the hands of Democratic Governor Robert Meyner, say Garden State observers, emphasizes once more the need for Republican candidates to stake out their own positions on local and national issues, rather than blanketing themselves into the Eisenhower "team."

Forbes was lavishly assisted in his campaign by Administration officials. President Eisenhower issued personal appeals on his behalf, and Vice President Nixon campaigned with him around the state. Presidential Appointments Secretary Shanley was a permanent fixture in the Forbes campaign. Republican National Committee Chairman Meade Alcorn, Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton, Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Labor James Mitchell and Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald Quarles all put in an oar for Forbes.

**Reports from New Jersey to HUMAN EVENTS say many conservative Republicans, fed up with "me-tooism" and coattail riding, actually voted for Meyner. It may have been the "cross-over" vote, as well as the stay-at-home vote, which materially helped to beat Forbes.**

● Evidence of the total failure of "Brownellism" — the term political analysts are using to describe the GOP's ruthless quest for the Negro vote — is the ethnic breakdown for voting in the New York Mayoralty and the New Jersey gubernatorial contests.

In New York, Democratic Mayor Robert Wagner drew an estimated 75 per cent of the Negro vote; in New Jersey — where GOP candidate Forbes had asked Negroes to vote for him to express their approval of the Little Rock invasion — over two-thirds of the Negro ballots went to Democrat Meyner.

Experts viewing these results repeat what has long been their warning to the proponents of "Brownellism" in the GOP: the bulk of the Negroes will be attracted, not by "civil rights" at bayonet point, but by the more tangible satisfactions of the welfare state — pensions, handouts, public housing, *etc.* Unless the GOP is willing to become as thoroughly socialistic as the Democrats, say the experts, it will never overtake the *ignis fatuus* that fascinates the Brownells — the Negro vote.

**Virginia:** The crushing defeat suffered by Republican candidate Ted Dalton in the Virginia gubernatorial election is unanimously described, in the Capital and in the Old Dominion state, as a result of the President's armed "invasion" of Arkansas six weeks ago. The Virginia election, as the first political test of Southern sentiment since the 101st Airborne descended on Little Rock, measures the far-reaching damage done to the GOP by the invasion: *four years ago, when the personable Dalton ran against Governor Thomas B. Stanley, he chalked up 45 per cent of the vote; in Tuesday's election he went down to Democrat J. Lindsay Almond by the thumping margin of two to one.*

● Chief issue in the gubernatorial campaign was school segregation. The outcome, endorsing the "massive resistance" program against racial integration advocated by Almond, tests the depth of Southern feeling on this inflammable issue.

James J. Kilpatrick, respected editor of *The Richmond News Leader,* made the following post-election comment to HUMAN EVENTS: "The results are a vindication of Senator Byrd's position on the integration question. They put a rather effective end to Republican 'two-party' hopes in Virginia, and (for whatever the projection is worth) in the rest of the South. The election was clearly a 'mandate from the people,' in the historic phrase, to continue absolute resistance."

Dalton, Kilpatrick concluded, would probably have lost the election in any event: "but it's beyond question that the Little Rock incident is responsible for the magnitude of his defeat."

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**Senator Welker:** Washingtonians who attended the funeral of former Senator Herman Welker (R.-Idaho), one of McCarthy's staunchest friends, were greatly moved by the words of Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate. In his remarks at Arlington National Cemetery, November 1, the Rev. Dr. Harris said: "We are grateful for public servants who, in the most testing days of the Republic, proved alert to the peril threatening our dearly bought liberties as, by subtle schemes, groups and individuals were willing to become the treasonable agents of the foulest conspiracy the centuries have known.

"We remember today in sacred Arlington, with its speaking stones, that Herman Welker set his face like flint against an iniquitous system that denies God and degrades man. . . . He considered it a part of his pledged service to country and to the divine Author of Liberty to be a sentinel on the ramparts of freedom, believing with all his heart that, as Thy holy book declares, if the watchman upon the walls see the enemy approach and gives not the alarm, then the blood of the people shall be on the watchman's hands."

**Labor Front:** One sensation of the Senate Rackets Committee hearings has been the news that Merlyn Pitzele, a member of the New York State Labor Mediation Board in 1953-55, was at the same time receiving fees of $5000 a year from Dave Beck for "advice." Before that Board at the time were cases which involved Beck's Teamsters Union. Pitzele was one of President Eisenhower's chief labor advisers in the 1952 campaign and also served Governor Thomas E. Dewey as labor strategist in the 1944 and 1948 Presidential campaigns. He is an outstanding "modern Republican."

The point that stirs many in the Capital is that Pitzele, while engaging in the above "cross-eyed" activities, was also Labor Editor of the important large-circulation magazine, *Business Week* (published by McGraw-Hill). In this forum, it is recalled, he maintained for years a distinctly pro-labor union line of comment and interpretation of events. It is fair to say that thousands of important business executives were influenced by Pitzele's weekly articles and that their judgment on what to do about Labor was accordingly swayed. How much damage was done to corporate interests as a result of Pitzele's writings — now, as it appears, tainted by his position on Beck's payroll — may well be a matter of intense speculation. (Meanwhile, in the past few days, Pitzele has resigned his *Business Week* post.)

Pitzele was paid in dollars by the union boss. But how about others — writers, columnists and similar "experts" writing for trade journals — who were paid in other ways? For many in this sophisticated Capital have been well aware for years that some publicists have been unofficial propagandists for Big Labor and have received their remuneration for these activities not in cash, but by receiving special exclusive information from Big Labor sources.

In this news-conscious town, there exists a recognition, by no means cynical, that this tainting of news and comment on labor matters is widespread. Some journalists get valuable "scoops" from labor leaders and/or their aides; in return they report news — slant it, or emphasize it — in a way favorable to those who leak it out.

That's the pay-off. And — what is the difference between such practices and the "arrangements" of such as Pitzele?

**CHARLES ALBRIGHT, Minister, Mahoning Methodist Church, Youngstown, Ohio:** "For a number of months I have been receiving HUMAN EVENTS, and find it a most challenging publication. I read it in its entirety and find the material very valuable in discussion groups in the church and organizations in the community. Sometimes the articles are shocking, but reasonable and I believe unbiased. They have changed my thinking on many issues. I have expressed many HUMAN EVENTS views in my sermons.

**OTTO K. EITEL, former President, Bismarck Hotel, Chicago:** "HUMAN EVENTS is the best I know of to keep abreast of national and international affairs from the Washington viewpoint."

**JERENE A. HARNISH, Publisher, *Daily Report*, Ontario, California:** "I was first introduced to HUMAN EVENTS by a friend and have been a subscriber ever since. Your publication has been a source of much background information useful in my editorial work, and as a confirmed libertarian I value it highly."

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**Article Section** *Printed in Two Sections*

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# THE MOST EXPLOSIVE RACE PROBLEM IS IN THE NORTH

## "Tyrannosaurus" Stalks in the City of Brotherly Love

*By* MORLEY CASSIDY

IN THE STARTLED tones of a man who has just discovered a Tyrannosaurus on his doorstep, several national magazines have been crying out recently that "the race problem is moving to the North!"

They are a little late. Most of their Northern readers have been watching the ugly creature prowl their streets for the last 25 years, noting its growth with mounting apprehension. The potential menace has been visible in crime statistics, in mounting welfare budgets, in spreading areas of slums and "blight," in the number of quiet streets where it is no longer safe to walk after dark and in the shocking changes that have come over schools and playgrounds.

The alarm of ordinary citizens has found but little echo in timid newspapers. The subject is too delicate, and no one likes to ruffle sensitive Negro feelings. The press, for the most part, has whispered that the only way to deal with a Tyrannosaurus is to feed it abundantly, pet it, and hope that it will just go away.

But the problem hasn't gone away, and in recent months a whole series of racial quarrels and "incidents" — in Levittown, Pa., in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland and New York City — has compelled even the blindest to see that Tyrannosaurus is now full-grown and vicious. It is a problem that must be faced and dealt with, and the sudden reappraisals are revealing that it is even bigger than was thought.

The white Northerners' love of Negroes — almost limitless when they are considered abstractly, as a race — is proving to be not much greater than that of Southern white supremacists when the colored folk move in next door, three families to a house, and begin throwing rent parties. There is a saturation point, in other words, at which Northern feelings grow explosive. In many Northern cities, it seems to have been reached.

With much less public comment than would have been given to a similar migration by white Okies or Crackers, four million Negroes have left the Old South since 1940 to find new homes in the North or Far West.

Forty per cent of the Nation's 18 million Negroes now live in the North and the flood of their migration is growing. They are pouring into Los Angeles at the rate of 20,000 a year, into Chicago at the rate of 35,000 a year, into Philadelphia at the rate of 10,000 a year. Most of the newcomers are agricultural workers, but almost all are determined to make their homes in industrial cities where their lack of skills and ignorance of city ways make them uncomfortable guests. In nearly every Northern city, the Negroes' numbers are increasing at a rate five to 10 times greater than the rate of increase for whites.

THIS MEANS THAT, for the future of this country, the dramatic events in Little Rock are of minor significance compared with the boiling-up of new feelings in the North. As a sample of the North's problem it is useful to take a look at Philadelphia. Little Rock's problems reflect the past. Philadelphia's foreshadow the future.

It is a grim picture, made grimmer by the flat refusal of such groups as the ADA and the NAACP to recognize dynamite when they see it. Senator Joseph S. Clark, a charter member of the ADA and a former Mayor of Philadelphia, recently upbraided a Southern Senator who had pointed to racial problems in the integrated schools of Philadelphia. Clark roundly declared that there had never been the slightest trouble.

His statement made Philadelphia eyes pop. Actually, the Philadelphia schools have been plagued for years by racial quarrels and fights in which knives, broken bottles and zip-guns have been used with deadly purpose, and teachers in some schools have abandoned, in fear for their own safety, all effort at maintaining discipline. Clark's bald denial almost coincided with a massive clash between white and Negro

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boys which required 20 police emergency cars to avert a full-scale race riot. At many of the city's schools, emergency cars are posted regularly every afternoon at the hour of dismissal.

The near riot brought a warning from Mayor Richardson Dilworth, Senator Clark's Democratic colleague, that "we must calm ourselves down . . . Racial tensions in Philadelphia have never been so acute."

And Police Commissioner Thomas Gibbons, after a Negro mob of more than 500 had gathered to "rescue" a Negro arrested for a traffic offense, had this to say: "If things go on as they are, Philadelphia is in for big trouble. I can't see the shape it will take, but it will be big."

All this is weirdly out of character for Philadelphia. The Quaker tradition and its Christian spirit are still strong in this venerable, easy-going "City of 1,000 Churches." Until recent years no city in America was freer of racial feeling. But this tolerant attitude, except for a dwindling minority, is almost a thing of the past. In its place, one hears on every side open expressions of racial bitterness that would shock many a Southerner who — however strong his feelings about Negroes as a race — holds individuals in real affection.

What has brought about this change?

Basically it is a function of the growing Negro numbers, with feeling apparently increasing as the square of migration. But compounded with this is a sense of frustration as it is realized that Negroes have suddenly come to hold the balance of political power in Philadalphia, and that politicians of both parties are desperately courting their favor, and thereby feeding the problem.

NUMBERS AND POLITICS form an inseparable element in Philadelphia's problem, as they do throughout the North.

Philadelphia in 1930 had 219,599 Negroes, 11.3 per cent of its population. In the 'Thirties, a Democratic state administration discovered the importance of Negro votes and openly recruited for migrants in the South with tales of liberal state relief and equal-rights laws. By 1940 the number had grown to 250,880. The fat wages of war industry and the lure of "equality" raised the number to 376,041 in 1950.

The latest figures show a Negro population of 489,900, a gain of more than 113,000 in seven years, seven times the increase of whites. So Negroes today are 22 per cent of the population, with a total larger than the combined Negro populations of three Southern cities — Atlanta, New Orleans and Jackson, Miss. Politically, the meaning of this is painted on City Hall for every politician to study.

**Philadelphia was a rock-ribbed Republican stronghold until 1951. Today its registration is almost evenly balanced, with 498,554 Democrats, 485,900 Republicans. The Negro vote, estimated at about 300,000, is almost solidly Democratic.**

To see what such a solid bloc can do, politicians have only to look at some recent elections. Clark won the Mayoralty (against weak opposition) in 1951 with a majority of 124,700. His Democratic successor, Mayor Dilworth, won in 1955 (also against a sitting-duck candidate) by a margin of 132,706.

Clark moved up to the U.S. Senate last year with a state-wide margin of only 18,000 against Senator James H. Duff; he was saved from defeat only by a Philadelphia margin of 169,750. In each of these elections the Philadelphia Negroes' 300,000-vote bloc was decisive.

The Negro vote has been equally potent in giving Philadelphia a City Council with 13 Democrats and three Republicans. And here politics gets down to the brass tacks of the racial problem in Northern cities — the problem of housing.

Philadelphia, like most Northern cities, has always been loosely segregated, not by law, but by custom. The bulk of its quarter-of-a-million Negroes in 1940 were living in South Philadelphia, and in a central area covering parts of the 13th, 14th and 20th wards. The massive wartime and postwar migration vastly extended the limits of these areas, and prosperity enabled many of the more ambitious to "bust" previously all-white areas throughout much of the city.

Today, Negroes are more than one-quarter of the population in 21 of the city's 52 wards, and in 14 of these they are more than half.

The pressure to "bust" more blocks in white areas has grown explosively as self-respecting Negroes seek escape from the "traditional" Negro areas, now bursting with ignorant and clamorous "refugees from Southern oppression." This pressure fits in neatly with both the ideals and the political advantage of do-gooders and their political allies.

It is a waste of political force, obviously, to have a surplus of Negro voters in the 20th and 24th wards, and hardly any in the "silk-stocking" 21st and 22nd wards, which still vote Republican.

So the unofficial Philadelphia Housing Association, an ADA-controlled group, last year announced the discovery that the "high-rise"

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skyscraper apartments of which it had previously been so proud were not the complete answer they were thought to be. In future, public housing should be based upon the "scatter" principle, with many small units spread in all parts of the city.

This principle was enthusiastically adopted by the Philadelphia Housing Authority when it drew up plans for its 1956 program of 21 projects. The plans were revealed with a rush act calculated to throw the public off its guard. The whole program had to be approved in 30 days, it was said, or the Federal money would be defaulted.

The program proved to be a bold attempt at stuffing ballot boxes by housing. Ten of the 21 projects had been concentrated in the "silk-stocking" Sixth Congressional District which had elected Philadelphia's lone Republican Congressman (out of six), Hugh D. Scott, Jr. Others had been placed in all-white neighborhoods where (since Negroes form 90 per cent of the waiting list for public housing in the city) they might be expected to tip the scales in a close election.

The reaction to this overly clever scheme gave Philadelphia its first real insight into the depth of racial feeling that had developed.

The Board of Realtors promptly denounced 15 of the 21 sites as "unsuitable." Public clamor and mass marches on City Hall terrified the Council into ordering public meetings to "explain" the choice of sites. The series of public meetings turned into near riots, and the papers were flooded with letters from white citizens who, quite often, said flatly that they had bought their present homes to escape encroaching Negro areas; they wanted to bring up their children in "decent" surroundings, far from the influence they had seen in areas on the fringe of Negro invasion.

The Housing Authority was compelled, finally, to abandon one-third of its program. But the fight is not over. Mayor Dilworth sounded a new battle cry on October 20 — in Chicago — when he announced that he would call for a "nondiscrimination" pledge as a condition for all *private* housing developments built with government-approved loans. He added a promise that Philadelphia would "crash one silk-stocking neighborhood next year" with a public housing project.

IN PHILADELPHIA, it is only fair to say, the bitter anti-Negro feeling that is developing is not basically a feeling about color *per se.* There are few whites here who have the mystical Southern attitude that a restaurant is polluted by a Negro's presence, and the rigid enforcement of the state fair-employment-practices laws which has placed Negroes in almost every business establishment has been accepted with good grace.

The feeling grows out of much more practical considerations. In many all-white areas, including swanky Lincoln Drive in Germantown, Negro home-buyers have been accepted, though not welcomed, and white residents have not "panicked." But in all too many areas, it has been observed, the first Negro is the portent of wholesale invasion.

Much of West Philadelphia, thus, has been transformed from an area of solid middle-class respectability into a heavily colored area where trouble is spreading rapidly. Huge sections along Lancaster Avenue have been downgraded into the meanest kind of slums, noisy with barrooms, brawls, juke boxes and hoagie shops, where even the police walk warily, in pairs. The once fashionable Strawberry Mansion section is now a domain divided among juvenile Negro fighting gangs, waging war among themselves.

The meaning of all this, in loss of property values, is something Philadelphians with the best good will cannot ignore. A West Philadelphia realtor estimates that white property owners in much of his area, if they wait to sell until their block has definitely "turned," stand to lose 40 to 50 per cent of their investment.

Philadelphians cannot ignore, either, that while Negroes form 22 per cent of the city's population, they form 60 per cent of the population of Eastern Penitentiary. (In New York City, where they are ten per cent, they account for 35 per cent of crime.) Nor can they ignore the fact that of 10,720 arrests of juveniles in Philadelphia last year, 63 per cent were of Negro youths.

They are increasingly aware, too, that a hugely disproportionate amount of the state's unemployment and welfare funds is going to Negroes, especially to Southern migrants interested only in seeking the good life in what seems to them a welfare state.

Welfare figures are well-guarded secrets, but the high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes (nationally, eight times the white average) helps to support a thriving local industry among Negro women who accept children whose mothers cannot care for them, and receive from the state $18 apiece per month for their board. It is becoming known, too, that separations among Negro couples are three times as fre-

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quent as among whites, and that the state in such cases pays up to $30 per month for each child to the abandoned mother. The suspicion grows that many a couple works this into a nice racket by conveniently "separating" when the social worker is in the neighborhood.

Philadelphia, which once prided itself on its schools, cannot hide from itself the fact that they are sadly changed. Whatever educators may say, parents are convinced that standards are lowered to "carry" the huge numbers of retarded Negro students. The disciplinary problems are glaringly evident. In such schools as Benjamin Franklin High School, overwhelmingly Negro, parents of white children have been known to withdraw them unwillingly at 16 (the age of compulsory attendance) to avoid the hazards of indecencies to the girls and gang attacks on the boys.

All this Philadelphia might be prepared to accept with resignation if convinced that the better element in the Negro community — certainly a very large part of that community — would find the leadership to deal with those who bring discredit on all Negroes. But this is the most discouraging aspect of the whole problem.

**James R. Smith, a far-sighted and extremely able Negro social worker, founder of a notably successful Negro boys' club, was bitterly assailed in the Negro press as a traitor to the race when he appealed publicly to Negro leaders to recognize that Negro crime was a plague which the Negro community must strive to deal with. A barrage of editorials and letters gave him the official line: crime is not a Negro problem but a community problem.**

Police Commissioner Gibbons has encountered the same irresponsible attitude in his efforts to stop crime in "The Jungle" — the central city area. His attempts — called for by Negro clergymen who had accused the police of ignoring Negro offenses against Negroes — produced only a hate-mongering campaign in the Negro press alleging "police brutality," and glorifying arrested drug dealers and others as "the unlucky victims."

"We can stop crime in 'The Jungle' " — says Gibbons wearily — "but only if every decent citizen is willing to stand up and be counted. They have not shown that they are, and too many of their self-elected 'leaders' have shown that they will oppose effective action in order to inflame race hatreds."

THIS IS ONLY the sketchiest picture of the problems Philadelphia finds on its doorstep, and there is every evidence that it will grow, rather than decrease, as the NAACP presses on to wield the balance of power it has won, or is winning, throughout much of the North.

Clarence Mitchell, top political strategist for the NAACP, boasted in advance of last year's elections that "Negroes now hold the balance of power in 60 Congressional races, and 16 Senatorial contests." He may be able to enlarge this claim in 1958 and 1960, as the migration continues, for Negroes now form from 5 to 15 per cent of the population in 14 Northern and Western states with 261 Electoral votes. This is five short of the total needed to name a President.

Little Rock and its aftermath have shown how eagerly the politicians will court this Negro bloc. Malcolm Forbes spelled out his own bald racial appeal in his campaign for Governorship of New Jersey. "The only way you can tell President Eisenhower he did right in Little Rock," he told Negro audiences, "is to vote for Republican candidates on November 5." In New York City, Democratic officials, led by Mayor Wagner, have been currying favor with proposals for a law compelling all landlords to rent to Negro tenants, and to carry school integration to new lengths by transferring pupils to schools far outside their own districts, to "balance" the Negro-white ratio in each school.

The issues, and the bidding and counterbidding of politicians wooing the Negro vote, extends from Coast to Coast. So far as the politicians are concerned it is clear that the NAACP can get whatever it chooses to demand. Tyrannosaurus never had it so good.

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Morley Cassidy is a top-rank newspaperman of 35 years' standing — having spent the last 18 in Philadelphia. He previously was a reporter for ten years in New Orleans and spent a year in Africa as a correspondent. In the past three years, he has closely covered the race situation and its related problems.

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